

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives pega and roqu and their compound pega-roqu added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language pega means "bad" or "old," and roqu means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the

[513] desired feelings. For example, iyogwa without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while iyogwa pega is the obligatory vocative term for one's mother's father. However, women may address their mother's father, if he is very, very old, as iyogwa pega-roqu. The use of adjectives with the term imarugo follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her imarugo pega or imarugo

*601 pega-roqu if she is still a child. A man will always address his wife's mother formally, i.e., imarugo, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately imarugo pega. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters